



Programme of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

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The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is the politically conscious and organized vanguard of the working class and the working people in the socialist German Democratic Republic. The tasks and aims which it pursues are those of the revolutionary working-class movement as formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin. In its activities it is unswervingly guided by the idea of doing everything for the good of the people, for the interests of the working class and all other working people. It considers its task to be the continued building of an advanced socialist society. Its ultimate goal is the construction of a communist society.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany emerged from the struggle which the revolutionary German working-class movement had carried on for more than a hundred years against feudal reaction and capitalist exploitation, against imperialism and militarism, fascism and imperialist war. It embodies the revolutionary traditions of the Communist League and of revolutionary German social democracy. It continues the work of the Communist Party of Germany and fulfils the legacy of the anti-fascist resistance. It is the heir to all that was progressive in the history of the German people.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is a contingent of the international communist movement. It is firmly committed to proletarian internationalism. It is fraternally allied with the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, the most tried and tested Communist Party, the first to lead the working class to power in alliance with the peasantry in the Great October Socialist Revolution. Led by the Party of Lenin, the Soviet people has created an advanced socialist society and is now successfully forging ahead along the road to communism. The Soviet Union and her glorious army contributed decisively to the crushing defeat of German fascism and, thus, to the liberation of the German people from fascist servitude, thereby paving the way for its advance towards democracy and progress.

The merger in April 1946 of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) is of historic importance. The founding of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany showed that the cardinal lesson from the history of the German working-class movement had been well and truly learned: The working class can only fulfil its historic mission if it overcomes the division caused within its ranks by imperialism and opportunism, if it establishes unity on a revolutionary basis and if it is led by a purposeful and closely-knit Marxist-Leninist Party, which is experienced in struggle and firmly attached to the mass of the people.

Led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the working class and the peasantry in the German Democratic Republic put an end once and for all to the rule of the German bourgeoisie and Junkers which had unleashed two world wars in this century. An alliance of all democratic forces was forged on the basis of revolutionary working-class unity. An anti-fascist and democratic revolution was carried out and the socialist revolution led to victory in a continuous revolutionary process and in fierce struggle against imperialist reaction and its henchmen.

Under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the German Democratic Republic saw a fundamental change of direction in the history of the German people, a change towards socialism. In the shape of the German Democratic Republic the working class, allied with the peasantry and the other working people, established and consolidated its political power, creating a socialist workers' and farmers' state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, relations of ownership of the principal means of production were changed along revolutionary lines, and a firm political and economic foundation was laid for the solution of the social, cultural and ideological tasks facing socialist society. A secure way of life, a steady increase in living standards for all working people and the emergence of a new kind of political awareness—these are striking results of socialist construction. A socialist nation began to emerge in the German Democratic Republic during the process of socialist transformation.

The victorious socialist revolution that has taken place in the German Democratic Republic must be seen in the context of the world revolutionary process. An essential feature of the formation of the world socialist system, it was directly linked to the construction of an advanced socialist society in the Soviet Union and to the socialist revolutions taking place in other countries.

In its long-term aims and in its practical work the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is guided by the universally applicable laws of socialist revolution and of socialist construction, as confirmed by the world revolutionary process, and applies these laws creatively to the concrete historical conditions prevailing in the German Democratic Republic.

In socialism, political power is exercised by the

working class. Led by its Marxist-Leninist Party, the working class pursues the interests of the people, in alliance with the class of cooperative farmers, intellectuals and professional people and the other working people.

Socialism rests on the social ownership of the means of production in both its forms: public property owned by the whole of society and cooperatively-owned property. In a planned socialist economy, the means of production are used to ensure a steady increase in national wealth in the best interests of the working class and of all other working people. Science and technology are developed and applied for the common good.

In socialism, production relations and all social relations are characterized by conscious and friendly cooperation and mutual aid. This is the foundation for the political and moral unity of the people, for the full development of the initiative and activity of all working people.

Socialism frees the working people from exploitation and oppression. It needs and staunchly defends peace. It gives all members of society every opportunity to develop the fullest reach of their creative powers, to acquire a high standard of education, to make active use of their democratic rights and freedoms for the advancement of socialist society and to realize all the potentialities of their personality. Socialism satisfies the vital needs of the working people to an ever larger extent. It is a fundamental tenet of socialism that everyone contributes according to his ability and receives according to his work. Socialism holds out to all people the prospect of a life that is fulfilled and of a future that is bright.

The dominant ideology in socialist society is Marxism-Leninism, the scientific world outlook of the working class. Socialist patriotism and proletarian inter-

nationalism are more and more determining people's actions. As the socialist nation grows to full maturity it draws ever nearer to the other nations of the socialist community.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany draws on the experience gained by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties in the establishment of a new society. Imperishable friendship and cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the Soviet people was, is and remains the chief source of strength and the basis for the development of the socialist German Democratic Republic.

It is thanks to the great achievements of the working class and the other working people that the foundations of socialism were laid in the German Democratic Republic, that socialist relations of production were carried to victory and the organization of an advanced socialist society was undertaken. The 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany set out and explained the tasks to be accomplished in building an advanced socialist society. Basing itself on the historic achievements scored by the working class and all other working people under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and taking account of the new social requirements that have arisen, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany makes it its aim for the coming period to forge ahead with the building of an advanced socialist society in the German Democratic Republic, thereby creating essential conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

I.

The world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism

Our era is one of transition from capitalism to socialism. Socialism has already gained a firm foothold on several continents. It is exerting an increasingly decisive influence on world-wide developments. The socialist system is proving its vitality and superiority for all the world to see.

What Marx, Engels and Lenin discovered and predicted is confirmed by historical developments—by the triumphant advance of socialism as well as by the decline of capitalism. Marxism-Leninism is proving to be the only theory enabling the working class to carry out its historic mission.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new chapter in world history. There emerged the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first state built by the liberated proletariat anywhere in the world. Just as it led the way in constructing and defending socialism, the Soviet Union as the mainstay of the socialist community is now fulfilling its historic world role as the pioneer of human progress in the building of communism. The achievements and the wealth of revolutionary experience of the Soviet Union are an irreplaceable asset and inexhaustible source of strength to the international working-class movement. They are of fundamental importance for the establishment of a socialist society. During the construction of communism, their universal validity is becoming more and more manifest.

Since the Great October Socialist Revolution, socialism has radically changed the face of the earth. After the crushing of fascism in the Second World War, in which the Soviet Union played a decisive part, other peoples succeeded in freeing themselves from capitalism. There arose the world socialist system, and socialism itself reached a new stage of development. The successful development of the socialist community, its political, economic and military strength, its mounting international influence, the struggle of the working class and indeed of all democratic forces in the capitalist countries as well as the victories of the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America have brought about a fundamental shift in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism, democracy, national independence and peace. The world socialist system has become the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The deepening of friendship and cooperation between the socialist peoples and states and their ever closer association is a process governed by the objective laws of history. The socialist community is an alliance of states resting on identical socio-economic and political foundations, on a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, on shared communist objectives and interests and on the international solidarity of working people. It is a completely new type of alliance in which the working class and their communist and workers' parties play a leading role. The dynamic nature of political, economic, intellectual and cultural development immanent in socialism is becoming increasingly apparent in the socialist community. Co-operation along new, socialist lines is growing stronger all the time with ever new patterns emerging in the process. It is in the best interests of the working class and of all citizens in the country that the

German Democratic Republic is firmly anchored in the community of socialist states.

The successful advance of socialism gives impetus to the world revolutionary process, enhances the appeal and international influence of socialism, improves conditions for the forward march of all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces and strengthens world peace. For the socialist community to meet all its historical responsibilities at any time it is essential that its unity and cohesion be strengthened all the time.

While socialism is developing successfully, offering stability and bright prospects, capitalism is getting bogged down deeper and deeper in its general crisis. As we enter the last quarter of the 20th century it is becoming increasingly evident that capitalism has become an impediment to social development and that it is incapable of solving the central issues facing mankind. Reality provides impressive proof of Lenin's statement that imperialism is capitalism in decay.

The concentration and centralization of capital, which is proceeding apace, has produced multinational monopolies that are extending their grip to larger parts of the capitalist world. The scientific and technological revolution enhances the prospects of higher living standards for the people, of their cultural enrichment and the realization of all their creative potentialities. But where capitalism holds sway it wastes productive forces and degrades the human personality. Capitalism is the root cause of hunger, misery, and political and spiritual oppression among large sections of the human race. Parasitism and decay leave their mark more and more drastically upon this society. It is characteristic of capitalism that it puts profit before human needs.

The accelerated growth of giant monopolies, espe-

cially the multinational companies, and the increased interpenetration of the state and the monopolies have greatly heightened the basic contradiction between the social nature of production and the capitalist appropriation of its fruits as well as all other contradictions inherent in capitalist society. Cyclical and structural crises in the economy are rocking the social and political system of capitalism. Unemployment and mounting social insecurity among working people, inflation, monetary crises and environmental despoliation have become permanent features.

The uneven economic and political development of capitalism has led to the emergence of rival groupings in the imperialist world. Competition between imperialist states and groups of states is mounting in fierceness.

The growing political instability of monopoly rule and of the governments pledged to it is attended by an accelerated decline of bourgeois democracy. The ideology and culture of imperialism are also in the throes of a profound crisis.

The example set by the successful development of socialism, the deepening general crisis of the capitalist system and the attempts to pass the burden of cyclical crisis on to the shoulders of the working people result in an intensification of the class struggle in the capitalist countries. The actions taken by the working class and by all other working people to improve their social situation, to defend and extend their democratic rights and social gains are becoming increasingly political in character. More and more, they are aimed directly against the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

In the forefront of this struggle are the communist and workers' Parties which vigorously defend the interests of the working class and of all other working people, which advocate the union of all democratic

forces and which give their peoples a clear perspective on tomorrow: curtailment and ending of rule by big business, and establishment of an anti-monopolist democracy opening the road to socialism.

The national and social liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a major component part of the world revolutionary process. Once political independence has been gained, it is of prime importance to defend and consolidate it and to achieve economic independence from imperialism. The social aspects of the anti-imperialist, democratic movements in the countries freed from the yoke of colonialism or semi-colonial oppression are increasingly coming into prominence. The progressive forces in many countries are seeking to set their countries on an anti-capitalist path of development.

Despite all the opposition encountered, the general trend is towards a common anti-imperialist struggle by the socialist countries, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement, their fundamental interests being objectively the same. This is the guarantee for the further advance of the fight for national and social liberation, and will remain so in the future.

A powerful peace movement has emerged in the struggle for world peace and international security, against war, aggression and the imperialist policy of force. Unity of all forces fighting for peace, national liberation and social progress is vital in this day and age.

The struggle for social progress and socialism is inseparably linked with the struggle for peaceful co-existence between states with differing social systems. Growing acceptance for peaceful coexistence leaves the aggressive forces of imperialism with less room for manoeuvre. It creates more favourable international conditions for the construction of socialism and

communism, for the campaign for international security and disarmament, for the intensification of the struggle carried on by all revolutionary and peace-loving forces for peace, democracy and social advance.

The shift in favour of socialism that has occurred in the international balance of forces has compelled imperialism to adjust its strategy and tactics to the new conditions of class struggle. On a global scale imperialism is on the defensive historically and politically. Even imperialist states and their governments cannot but accept the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. However, this does not entail any change in the nature of imperialism, its adventurism and rapacity. Imperialism is bent on superprofit, it is stepping up exploitation, oppression and expansion, looking for ways and means of halting and preventing the advance of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces. To achieve its dangerous, aggressive and reactionary designs it makes use of all the means still left at its command.

It remains the main objective of imperialism to maintain and expand its influence and to undermine and destroy the socialist system. It is thus vital for all revolutionary forces to strengthen socialism in every possible way, to defend its gains with determination and not to relax vigilance. This is, at the same time, a tremendous contribution to the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress throughout the world, which will continue to require great efforts. Thus, the inevitable process of separate development between the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany in all fields of social life has been conducive to the world-wide diplomatic recognition of the socialist German state and strengthened socialism and peace.

As the balance of forces changes in favour of socialism and peace, the role of ideological struggle increases. Theories put forward by exponents of imperialism and right-wing social democrats, according to which capitalism is allegedly capable of overcoming economic crises and fundamental contradictions, the class nature of its society and class struggle, and of transforming capitalist society into a society marked by class harmony, a secure way of life, democracy and justice, have proved futile as have all attempts to erode socialism by disseminating ideologies rooted in revisionism and social reformism.

This notwithstanding, imperialism is stepping up its ideological attacks on socialism and on Marxism-Leninism. Seeking to preserve a doomed system, it is resorting to a variety of anti-communist, political and ideological concepts and methods of struggle as well as to provocation and organized subversion to halt social progress.

Therefore, the safeguarding of lasting peace and social advance implies a firm stand against the enemies of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, against nationalism and racialism and the instigation of hatred towards other peoples.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers it its internationalist duty to contribute at all times to the reinforcement of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. It is helping the working class and all other democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and the liberated and oppressed nations to join even more closely together in the common battle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism.

The changes in the international balance of forces in favour of socialism, the mounting influence of the socialist community on historical developments, the

deepening general crisis of capitalism, the growth of the class struggle against imperialism, and the national liberation movement give added impetus to the world revolutionary process in the last quarter of the century. These developments strengthen us in our belief that all countries in the world will irresistibly move towards socialism and communism.

The slogan "Working men of all countries, unite", which Marx and Engels put at the end of their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the first comprehensive treatise on scientific communism, has already become reality in much of the world. At a time when the influence of socialism is mounting steadily and mankind is advancing from capitalism to socialism it is more relevant than ever. That it becomes reality is vital for the victory of the international working class, for the ending of exploitation, for the banishing of war from the life of the peoples, for the triumph of communism the world over.

II.

The construction of an advanced socialist society in the German Democratic Republic

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany sets itself the aim of continuing the construction of an advanced socialist society in the German Democratic Republic, thereby creating fundamental conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

The establishment of an advanced socialist society is a historic process marked by far-reaching political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural changes.

The establishment of an advanced socialist society makes it necessary for all advantages and motive forces, all facets and spheres of social life to be developed on planned lines at high levels. This includes the productive forces and the relations of production, social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the totality of working and living conditions as well as national defence. An advanced socialist society presupposes that socialist relations of production prevail completely.

To build an advanced socialist society means to create all the material, socio-economic, political and ideological conditions required for pursuing at a progressively higher level the primary object of socialism, which is to do everything for the good of the people, for the interests of the working class, cooperative farmers, intellectuals and professional

people and the rest of the population. In accordance with the fundamental economic law of socialism, the central policy in the construction of an advanced socialist society consists in raising the cultural and living standards of the people on the basis of a rapid pace of development of socialist production, increased efficiency, scientific and technological advance and growing labour productivity.

To build an advanced socialist society means to establish an efficient material and technological basis for steady economic growth, high labour productivity and efficiency. The optimum use of productive resources is the chief method of achieving this. It is of crucial importance to combine the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution organically with the advantages of socialism.

To build an advanced socialist society means to pursue economic and social policies as an integrated whole. The purpose of seeking a rapid growth of production and its efficiency is to improve working and living conditions in a systematic manner. The consistent implementation of the principle that everyone should contribute according to his abilities and receive according to his work is a major impetus behind economic and social progress.

To build an advanced socialist society means to develop the relations of production more fully as relations based on friendly cooperation and mutual aid among working people and among staffs and to enhance collective attitudes in social relations.

To build an advanced socialist society means

to increase the role of the working class and of its Party as the leading force in society and continuously to strengthen its alliance with the class of cooperative farmers, with intellectuals, professional people and the rest of the working population. This also means systematically to bring all classes and strata of the community closer together on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the working class, socialist production relations, continuous improvements in working and living conditions and the increased application of scientific and technological progress in all fields of social life. This makes it necessary for further steps to be taken to overcome gradually all substantial distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labour.

To build an advanced socialist society means

to consolidate the socialist administrative and legal system in a comprehensive manner and to give socialist democracy full scope to develop. Wide-ranging social activities by workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals and other working people, who participate in the management and planning of social development with an acute sense of political responsibility and a high degree of proficiency, are a characteristic feature of advanced socialism.

To build an advanced socialist society means

to enhance the socialist consciousness of the broad mass of people still further, actively to shape their Marxist-Leninist world outlook and communist morality and to overcome egotism, individualism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology in a determined manner.

To build an advanced socialist society means to guarantee the effective protection of peace and socialist achievements at all times and to strengthen in all citizens of the GDR the preparedness to defend socialism. Led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and closely allied with their class brothers and companions-in-arms in the Soviet army and the armed forces of the other signatory states to the Warsaw Treaty, the National People's Army, the frontier force, the other defence and security forces of the GDR and the workers' militia perform their duties to help safeguard peace in Europe and create favourable conditions for socialist and communist construction.

To build an advanced socialist society means to keep strengthening and deepening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. Advanced socialist society is the joint revolutionary accomplishment of the working class and of all working people in the countries of the socialist community. Socialist economic integration between the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance provides a firm basis for the socialist nations to achieve ever fuller cooperation and to draw closer and closer together in all fields of social life.

Consequently, to build an advanced socialist society means

to do everything to ensure that relations within society and people's physical and intellectual capacities can develop to the best advantage and to do all that is necessary for people to shape their lives in a meaningful and cultured manner and for the thoughts and actions of working people to be motivated by socialist ideology, by the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the working class.

A. Economic policy

The unity of economic and social policies

Led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the working class and all other working people in the German Democratic Republic have created an efficient and stable socialist planned economy that is being brought to an increasingly higher level of strength and efficiency. The economic and social policies of the Party are based on the conscious utilization of the objective economic Laws of socialism.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will continue to make every effort to ensure that increases in performance and output and the increasingly widespread application of scientific and technological innovations benefit the working class and all other working people, and that cultural and living standards are raised more and more, resulting in the spiritual enrichment of man.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers that a gradual improvement in the living standards of all working people presupposes a high level of performance in socialist production and sustained economic growth. This is achieved by an optimum relationship between accumulation and consumption and by the full exploitation of the GDR's economic potential, including the tapping of reserves throughout the economy, i. e. in all sectors, branches and enterprises.

Increased labour productivity is the main source of economic growth. It brings about a continuous increase in national income as the material basis for the ever better satisfaction of both individual and public needs.

The economic and social policies of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany are a major factor in bringing the various classes and sections of society still closer together, in reducing substantial distinctions between physical and mental labour and bridging the gap

between living conditions in town and country. The application of the principle of reward according to merit is combined with the gradual obliteration of social distinctions.

The housing programme now in progress is the lynchpin of the SED's social policy. Its aim is to solve the housing question by 1990. A long-standing objective of the revolutionary working-class movement will thus be accomplished. The provision of new housing will have a growing effect on the general standard of housing, on meaningful leisure pursuits and human relations. Housing construction goes hand in hand with the provision of efficient transport, catering and welfare services.

Urban and rural development places high demands on architects and those engaged in the building and related industries. Long-term plans will have to combine the modernization and improvement of residential areas, the construction of new dwellings and the preservation and renovation of residential buildings in such a way that the cultural wealth and progressive features which cities and towns have acquired in their structure and appearance during the course of history are preserved as far as possible and that ever more favourable conditions are established for the further evolution of a socialist way of life. Special attention will have to be paid to the development of Berlin, the capital of the GDR, as the political, economic, intellectual and cultural metropolis of the GDR.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers that work is the most important sphere of social life. It wants to see the socialist character of work fully brought out in every respect. Working conditions will have to be so organized that they promote job satisfaction, working morale and creativity as well as working people's sense of order, safety and discipline.

Scientific and technological progress must be ef-

fected while paying constant attention to, and securing constant improvements in, health protection and safety at work. It is necessary to reduce heavy manual work and work involving health hazards in a systematic way and to design machinery and devise techniques with growing emphasis on safety considerations and ease of operation. Social and health services and cultural amenities in enterprises will be expanded. Priority will be given to improving working and living conditions for shift workers.

In conformity with the development of the national economy, the purpose of the incomes policy pursued is to enable working people to earn more by increasing their output or raising the standard of their work. The share of the national income accruing to the working class will continue to grow to reflect its rising level of performance, role and responsibility.

The principle of reward according to merit — the basic principle of distribution in socialism — will continue to be consistently applied. Working people's pay as their chief source of income will remain the key factor in the advance of their cultural and living standards. An efficiency-orientated wages policy is geared to this objective. It encourages the creative initiative of the working class and all other working people to increase labour productivity and to raise their qualifications, and it furthers the interest of the working population in socialist rationalization, including the use of up-to-date technological norms and standards. The lower ranges of income are to be raised progressively as qualifications and output increase.

Public funds assume growing importance for the development of real income. They will increase at a faster rate than wage and bonus funds and will be chiefly used to develop health and social services, education, culture and sport.

Depending on the growth of labour productivity, the Party is seeking a further differentiated prolongation of annual holiday leave and the gradual introduction of a 40-hour week by shortening daily working hours while retaining the five-day week. Simultaneously, the efficient organization of catering and other services will add to working people's leisure time.

Working people's recreational needs will be satisfied to an ever larger extent. This makes it necessary to make available more places in holiday resorts, to raise the standards of recreational and catering facilities there, to promote tourism, and to expand local possibilities for spare time activities and outdoor recreation. Special attention will be devoted to recreation schemes for families.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany shows special concern for the promotion of the family, the well-being of mother and child and assistance for large families and young married couples. Financial burdens arising from the birth, care and upbringing of children will, to an increasing extent, be recognized and borne by the whole community. Families with several children will be given further assistance. Opportunities for mothers of small children and those of school age to pursue a job will be improved systematically.

Care when aged, ill or disabled will be systematically improved following on from the growth in the economy.

Cultural, social and medical services for those who retire from employment and for all senior citizens are a major concern of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. They are constantly being expanded and improved. Living conditions for the retired population will be further improved in a systematic manner. A variety of measures will be taken to enable the elderly to participate more actively in society. The provision

of jobs to suit the needs of senior citizens will be stepped up in line with their wishes and abilities. More housing adjusted to the needs of the elderly as well as residential homes, homes for the aged and nursing homes will be provided.

Citizens who are physically or mentally handicapped are to be assisted to take part in the life of society through a complex of rehabilitation measures, through the provision of appropriate education and employment opportunities, and through medical and social care.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is concerned to ensure steady improvements in health protection and to create favourable conditions for the findings of modern medical science to be applied and for the quality of medical work to be improved. The number of medical practitioners will be increased and the network of health establishments extended. Their equipment will be systematically modernized and expanded. Patients are free to consult a doctor of their own choosing. All pharmaceutical products and other medical supplies required will have to be made available in continued high quality and sufficient variety. The Red Cross in the GDR will assume growing importance in carrying out health policy.

The SED will encourage environmental protection and planning in the interests of a steady improvement of working and living conditions and of economic efficiency. Industrial enterprises and cooperative and state farms will have to make an especially great contribution towards this objective.

It is imperative on a scientific basis to preserve, and make national use of, nature as the inexhaustible source of human life, health, enjoyment and prosperity so that she may allow future generations to lead a secure and happy life in a communist society. Better conditions for work and leisure pursuits will be created

by determined efforts on the part of the community to protect the soil, preserve the purity of the air and water and to reduce noise.

The intensification of social production

The intensification of social production is the main avenue of economic development in the German Democratic Republic. It permits an increase in economic performance that is indispensable for raising the general standard of living, consistently modernizing and expanding the material and technological basis of socialism in the GDR, and creating the fundamental conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

The first essential is to enhance productive quality and efficiency and to make the fullest use of scientific and technological progress to achieve this aim. Science, technology and production engineering are to be utilized to secure high rates of growth in labour productivity, to release manpower for the growth sectors of the economy and to improve the cost-benefit ratio decisively.

Scientific and technological advance is the overriding factor in intensification, its impact being crucial for the solution of all other tasks. The SED therefore deems it necessary to intensify scientific and technological work itself, to lay the requisite scientific groundwork, to achieve outstanding results in research and development at the earliest possible date and to apply them swiftly on a large scale. It pays much attention to basic and applied research and to co-operation in research with the other member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Intensification will chiefly be directed towards schemes to rationalize and modernize existing enter-

prises, but in accordance with the needs of a planned and balanced development of the economy it will include the provision of new productive capacity. It will be intimately bound up with improvements in the structure of production that will be effected on planned lines as economic integration between the socialist countries progresses. The mechanization of entire production processes and the use of partly or fully automatic installations and equipment will have to be increased step by step.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is invariably guided by the consideration that people are the key factor in production and that the purpose of all intensification is to secure the greatest possible benefits for them and to make work easier for them. It pays much regard to the development and rational use of the labour force. This includes the planned allocation of manpower in line with their qualifications, proficiency and skill. The full use of statutory working hours and the avoidance of unproductive time are crucial for a steady increase in productivity. The scientific organization of production, which includes ergonomics, job lay-out, the fixing of quotas and job classification, also serves this purpose.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers it essential for the planned and balanced development of the economy to institute effective measures to meet the growing demand for energy and raw materials. First and foremost, it will be necessary to make wider use of domestic sources of energy and raw material deposits, to secure imports for many years ahead, to utilize recycled waste material to better effect and to use energy and materials more economically.

The intensification of production requires that material consumption be kept down to the lowest possible level. It is designed to reduce the specific consumption of energy, raw materials and materials

substantially while ensuring an ever higher degree of workmanship. Science and technology will contribute decisively towards this aim.

The Party devotes much attention to a more economical use of fixed assets and further improvements in investment policy. It underlines the need to derive an ever greater benefit from the investments made, to expend no more resources than planned and to attain technological and economic targets as soon as possible.

The construction of an advanced socialist society makes heavy demands on industry, which contributes decisively to the continuous and balanced growth of the national economy. Increased profitability in this field is the major source of funds for extended reproduction and for the satisfaction of overall social needs.

The fulfilment of these tasks presupposes dynamic growth and the strengthening of industry's potential and export capacity. This makes it mandatory to use all productive facilities in an intensive manner, to encourage large-scale production through concentration and specialization, to establish efficient and stable relations of cooperation, and to modernize the means of production.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany pursues the aim of radically transforming the technological basis of industrial and agricultural production to secure the growth in labour productivity needed to meet the growing requirements of socialist society. This includes the development of the agro-industrial complex within the national economy.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany regards the need to increase the efficiency of the construction industry through consistent industrialization as a matter of great social significance. Increases in the production of building materials and prefabricated

components using domestic raw materials are indispensable for accomplishing this task. The enlargement of the energy and raw materials basis and the modernization of existing industrial plants involves heavy demands on the construction industry.

Transport and communications services will be developed further in line with the requirements and possibilities of the economy. The prime task is to satisfy the needs of the general public and of the economy to a higher extent and to meet the demands arising from international relations for all forms of transport and communications. It will be necessary to streamline the communications network and to bring public transport to a higher level of efficiency and quality.

The SED considers it a political matter of top priority to ensure stable supplies of consumer goods, coupled with a continuous rise in quality standards. Close cooperation between manufacturers and the distributive trades is to ensure that the consumer goods produced and offered for sale meet consumer demand in terms of practical value and fashionable design.

The state and cooperative trade sectors are largely responsible for guaranteeing the continuous supply of a wide range of top-quality goods, for easing shopping and expanding after-sales services. The turnover of goods will have to be speeded up by choosing the most suitable supply channels and pressing on with the rationalization and modernization of storage, transport and sales facilities. Commission dealers and private tradesmen are to be promoted in conformity with the interests of socialist society.

The SED deems it necessary to strengthen the nationally-owned service and repair sector quite considerably. Services will have to be increased in scope and quality, and delivery times will have to be re-

duced. For this purpose the nationally-owned service establishments will be rationalized and their capacity enlarged. They will be developed into widely diversified and efficient centres with an appropriate network of pick-up points.

Continuing a long-standing policy, the Party will work to see that the contribution of craft producers' cooperatives to meeting the demand for services is raised by way of intensification. Private craftsmen will be systematically encouraged and included in the completion of the tasks arising in this sector.

Agricultural policy

In its agricultural policy, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany pursues two closely interrelated aims:

systematically raising production and efficiency in farming and agricultural processing so as to ensure stable and constantly improving consumer supplies of high-quality foodstuffs and raw materials supplies for industrial use, and

bringing rural living conditions closer to those in urban areas, so as to gradually overcome major differences between town and country. The basic economic law of socialism, the rapid growth of the productive forces and especially the advances in science and technology, along with the further development of social relations in the countryside, objectively call for the continued intensification of agricultural production and the continued introduction of industrialized methods of farming. Farm work is undergoing fundamental changes owing to the introduction of industrialized methods of production requiring a high standard of general knowledge and technical skill.

The need to maintain high nutritional standards and

to ensure a continuous supply of foodstuffs for human consumption and of raw materials for industrial processing necessitates a sustained growth in agricultural output and at the same time further improvements in product quality and in the structure of production. In the long run, this can only be achieved by further raising soil fertility and establishing large production units based on the increasingly closer alliance between the working class and the cooperative farmers. The hallmark of these units is a high standard of specialization, concentration and cooperation, both horizontal and vertical.

Therefore, the agricultural policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is designed to organize crop and livestock production progressively along industrial lines to secure the greatest possible benefits for the whole of society. In the agricultural sector this is the most effective way of combining the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages inherent in the socialist system.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is concerned to strengthen further the agricultural production co-operatives and the nationally-owned agricultural, forestry and processing enterprises and to develop cooperation between the socialist agricultural enterprises, processing plants and distributive services more and more fully. The establishment of closer cooperative relations is an essential feature of the Party's agricultural policy. Such cooperation steadily opens up new opportunities to produce and process more, better and cheaper agricultural products, thereby continuously improving consumer supplies.

The expansion of socialist economic integration, especially the increasingly close intertwining of the GDR's economy with that of the USSR, is very important for the successful development of agriculture. As it has in the past, the SED will continue to be

strictly guided by the principles of Lenin's cooperative plan, creatively applying to the new historical conditions the theoretical and practical experience accumulated by the CPSU in the further development of Lenin's theory of agriculture.

The continued transformation of agriculture along industrial lines is inevitably attended by an increasingly close interpenetration with other branches of the national economy directly or indirectly involved in food production. This is primarily true of sectors producing farm machinery and equipment for processing, storing and selling farm produce. This is the "new, higher synthesis of the association between agriculture and industry" predicted by Karl Marx.

Gradually emerging in this way is an agro-industrial complex which produces agricultural goods, above all food, in the most effective way possible. Technological chains ranging from production to processing and distribution are coming into existence in this process. It is necessary in the interests of the entire people, to ensure ever better management and planning for the development of the agro-industrial complex.

The development of socialist economic integration and foreign trade

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany attaches outstanding importance to the further expansion of socialist economic integration between the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It is vital for the steady economic and social development of the GDR. In this field the further development and permanent expansion of the co-operation between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union plays a decisive role.

Socialist economic integration between the member countries of the CMEA reflects the joint responsibility of

the CMEA countries for the development of socialism. It is an important means of systematically pooling the economic and scientific potential of the socialist countries and ensuring their balanced development. It is conducive to the development of the world socialist economy and adds to the strength of socialism in its economic competition with capitalism. The German Democratic Republic will continue to make an effective contribution towards the expansion of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany focuses its efforts on

- the full exploitation of the advantages offered by the socialist division of labour and cooperation on an international scale, this being a basic prerequisite for increased economic efficiency and an optimum production structure,
- the gradual establishment of an integrated fuel and energy industry meeting the interests of the socialist community and guaranteeing the fullest satisfaction of the rising demand of the CMEA countries,
- the coordinated development of the mechanical engineering and consumer goods industries and of other important sectors of the economy, and
- the expansion of specialization and cooperation in research and production on the basis of joint long-term programmes.

The agreed specialization and cooperation schemes will be directed towards manufacturing products of a high scientific and technological standard and at low cost.

Socialist economic integration makes ever greater demands on the quality of management, planning and the application of economic incentives. New, effective forms of cooperation between government departments and economic bodies as well as enterprises large and

small will be tested and introduced with this aim in mind. The SED will further an improvement in the co-ordination of planning, chiefly with a view to jointly elaborating and implementing blueprints for long-term development. The coordination of plans is at all times an integral part of joint planning.

The SED is in favour of utilizing the advantages arising from the internationalization of economic life and the world-wide division of labour for the benefit of socialist construction on the basis of equal rights and mutual benefit.

In keeping with the principles and objectives of socialist economic integration, the SED advocates the comprehensive and rapid development of trade with the Soviet Union and the other member states of the CMEA. It seeks a systematic expansion of economic cooperation with the other socialist countries.

The SED furthers the development of stable economic relations with the developing countries based on equality and mutual advantage. It supports their struggle for independent economic development.

Economic relations with the capitalist countries will be developed on the basis of close economic cooperation within the socialist community and in the pursuit of relations of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems.

Foreign trade will continue to be conducted on the basis of the government's foreign trade and foreign currency monopoly. The task of foreign trade agencies is to encourage socialist economic integration, to assist the planned and balanced development of the national economy and to keep raising the profitability of foreign trade through improvements in the export and import structure and intensive market research.

Management, planning and the application of economic incentives

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany seeks constant improvements in management, planning and economic incentives in line with the concrete conditions prevailing at any stage of the construction of an advanced socialist society and it underlines the need to utilize material and financial resources in the most effective way possible.

Cost cutting, streamlining of administrative work and strict compliance with the principle of thrift are cornerstones of economic management by the socialist state.

The SED lays special stress on strengthening democratic centralism by effectively combining centralized management and planning by the government with the creative activity of working people and independence in day-to-day management by enterprises, associations thereof, cooperatives and local authorities. The democratic participation of working people in management and planning is essential for the elaboration and implementation of plans that are both ambitious and realistic.

The annual economic plans occupy a central place in the system of management, planning and economic incentives. The targets set in these plans are derived from the Party's central policy and from an analysis of the country's resources. Planning is based on the application of the objective economic laws of socialism and of the latest advances in science. Its purpose is to define the most effective ways of securing the maximum efficiency of social labour for the good of the people. The Party deems it indispensable to expand long-term planning step by step.

Through coordination with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, the Five-Year Plans are

to be developed into the chief instrument of economic management.

The organization of economic life and management will be rendered more effective to suit the needs of modern socialist production. The preparation, planning, implementation and supervision of production call for the application of mathematical methods and electronic data processing.

The Party stresses the need for scientific management and planning to be effectively combined with material and moral incentives and for these to be increasingly directed towards encouraging among all working people a socialist attitude to work, consistency of performance, high working morale and a sense of social responsibility.

The emulation and innovation movement requires particular attention in this field. Through this movement, working people put into practice the tried and tested principle of working, learning and living in a socialist manner. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany promotes socialist emulation as the fullest expression of the creative energy of the mass of working people in the building of an advanced socialist society. To a great extent, it reflects the leading role of the working class and its growing responsibility for the all-round strengthening and consolidation of the socialist state. The aim of socialist emulation is to attain and systematically surpass the targets set in the annual economic plans, which are crucial for the improvement of working and living conditions and for increases in the efficiency of production.

The economic indicators expressing the cost-benefit relationship are a decisive factor in management, planning and the use of material incentives. This end is served by cost accounting on the part of industrial enterprises and complexes whose efficiency is to be raised on the basis of the plan targets set by the state.

The workers of all enterprises have the task of deriving from their productive work a steadily growing benefit for society. Economic stimuli will be used more effectively to ensure production which meets consumer demand and fulfils the contract terms, to raise productivity, to accelerate scientific and technological advance, to improve the quality of products and services and to reduce costs.

The conscious utilization of the price/product relationship is of great importance in the further improvement of management, planning and the application of economic incentives. The national budget, monetary and credit policies and the price system assume growing importance for efficient production and the rational distribution and use of the gross national product and the national income. Strict compliance with the socialist principle of thrift is essential for the growing prosperity of the people. This requires strict accountability and supervision.

B. The social structure

The socialist mode of production has radically changed the structure of society in the German Democratic Republic. The exploitation of man by man and class contradictions have been done away with once and for all. The determined alliance policy pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has, on the basis of socialist relations of power and ownership and on the strength of working people's socialist consciousness, given rise to close and lasting relations of friendly and creative cooperation between the working class, the class of cooperative farmers, intellectuals and professional people and the other sections of the working population.

The leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party as well as the importance of the

trade unions increase in all fields of social endeavour during the construction of an advanced socialist society. The Party will continue to direct its efforts towards strengthening the influence of the working class in all spheres of human activity.

The working class is the principal political and social force in social progress and the numerically strongest class. It holds political power, it is directly linked to socialist public property and it produces the bulk of the material wealth of society at large. Its interests reflect the fundamental interests of the entire people. Its role in social production and its leadership by a Marxist-Leninist Party enable the working class – the most highly organized, most disciplined and most politically-conscious class – to lead the way in the struggle of all working people for social advance. It is capable of living up to its historic mission because Marxism-Leninism, the only scientific world outlook, is its guide to action.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers it its task to bring out fully the political awareness and creative energy of the working class. The realization of the leading role of the working class is inseparably bound up with the solution of the political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural tasks arising in the construction of an advanced socialist society.

The main areas in which the working class develops further are the campaign for increased labour productivity and for scientific and technological advance, the socialist emulation and innovation movements and the active participation of workers in management and planning and in the further advancement of socialist democracy. Qualities such as creativity, initiative, fellowship, thirst for knowledge, a sense of social responsibility, mutual aid and a cultured way of life are becoming more and more pronounced in this process.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany seeks a systematic increase in the level of political and ideological development of the working class and in the political and vocational qualifications of the working people. This will help to overcome the principal distinctions between physical and mental labour step by step. Workers qualified for skilled jobs will make up a growing proportion of the total labour force and more and more workers will benefit from specialized and higher education.

The alliance between the working class and the class of cooperative farmers is the political foundation of socialist society. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will continue to give much attention to the constant strengthening of this alliance. The tried and tested alliance between the working class and the co-operative farmers will be enhanced by the progressive industrialization of farming and the optimization of socialist production relations in agriculture as well as by the interpenetration of agriculture and the other sectors of the economy involved in food production.

Living conditions in the countryside will become more and more similar to those in urban areas. Great stress will be laid on the continuous improvement of housing conditions in the countryside. Workers and cooperative farmers are working together and for each other. The working class helps the farmers in developing the socialist way of life in the countryside. The cooperative farmers, by their work, raise the cultural and living standards of the entire people and thereby improve their own lives. The cooperative farmers' standard of Marxist-Leninist education and technical qualifications, and the degree of their organization and conscious participation in the construction of an advanced socialist society will increase.

The intelligentsia, the professional and intellectual section of the population, in alliance with the working

class and the class of cooperative farmers, makes a growing contribution to the all-round development of socialist society. The social composition of the intelligentsia is distinguished by the fact that it has its origins primarily in the working class and the class of cooperative farmers. Due to its social background and the nature of its work this section is inseparably linked with all other working people in socialist society. New forms of joint activity have come about among workers and salaried employees, technologists, engineers and economists, cooperative farmers and agronomists as part of the process of intensifying social production. The socialist intelligentsia will contribute significantly to social progress by performing outstanding work in science and technology, education, medicine and culture. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany advocates a systematic development of the conditions necessary for the creative activity of scientists, teachers, medical practitioners, cultural workers and other intellectuals and professional people and a systematic increase in their share of the working population.

Socialist society offers craftsmen and small tradesmen favourable opportunities for using their energies and abilities in the best interests of the community, playing an active part in the construction of the new society and receiving adequate reward for their work. Craftsmen and tradesmen are expected to contribute significantly to the safeguarding and extension of services for the general public.

The various classes and sections of society are drawing closer together in a momentous and prolonged process governed by the objective laws of history. This process will advance owing to the fuller development of socialist relations of production, the advancement of the productive forces in town and country, the enhancement of socialist democracy, the

raising of educational standards, the growth of mental labour in the process of production and the further improvement of working and living conditions.

The closer association of the various classes and sections of society takes place within the framework of leadership by the Party on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the ideals of the working class. It leads to a stronger political and moral unity of the people and goes hand in hand with the development of a socialist way of life.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany devotes much attention to the promotion of women. In all fields of human endeavour, working women make a tremendous contribution to political, economic, scientific, technological, social, intellectual and cultural progress. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will make every effort to create everywhere conditions enabling women to make ever fuller use of their equal status in society and allowing for further improvements in women's working and living conditions. The consolidation of women's status in society and the development of their personality require determined efforts to ensure that women can reconcile the demands of their job still more successfully with their duties towards child and family.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany puts its full faith in young people, devolving upon them heavy responsibilities in the construction of an advanced socialist society and in creating the conditions for the gradual transition to communism. Young people play a major role in the all-round strengthening and protection of the GDR. The Party passes the revolutionary fighting and working experience of the working class on to the rising generation and encourages boys and girls to acquire fundamental Marxist-Leninist knowledge, comprehensive qualifications and professional skill as well as the political and moral stature of revo-

lutionary fighters for communism. It considers it the class duty of all communists to bear particular responsibility for the upbringing and education of young people in the spirit of communism.

C. The political system of an advanced socialist society

The policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is aimed at the continued all-round strengthening of the socialist workers' and farmers' state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat representing the interests of the whole people of the GDR. It is the chief instrument of the working people, led by the working class, in the construction of an advanced socialist society and along the road to communism. The Leninist principle of democratic centralism is the proven foundation for the structure and activity of all organs of socialist state power and their cooperation.

The socialist state directs the planned development of society's productive forces, and promotes scientific and technological progress and a steady increase in labour productivity. The state develops the socialist relations of production, friendly cooperation, mutual aid and socialist team-work among working people and it raises their educational and cultural standards and their socialist sense of responsibility. The tasks of the state in the domain of social policy will steadily grow in importance.

The state organizes national defence and is responsible for seeing that the socialist system and the right of its people to live in peace are reliably protected. It safeguards public and private property and the rights and freedoms of its citizens.

It is one function of the various organs of the state to promote and implement fraternal cooperation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the other

states and peoples of the socialist community in all fields of activity on the basis of bilateral and multi-lateral treaties, and to strengthen the GDR as an inseparable part of the socialist community as well as to preserve the sovereignty of the GDR and to repulse any attempt by imperialist states to encroach upon this sovereignty.

The main path of development for the socialist state will be to bring out and maximize all the advantages of socialist democracy. Citizens' multi-faceted participation in the running of public and economic affairs is increasingly becoming the dominant feature of life in socialism. The socialist state guarantees all citizens their political freedoms and social rights: the right to work, recreation, free education and health protection, provision for the elderly, the sick and the disabled, equal rights for all citizens irrespective of race, nationality, world outlook, religious convictions and social status. It guarantees equal status for men and women in all areas of political, economic and cultural life.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany encourages working people's preparedness to contribute to the fulfilment of the tasks facing the state and society and to accept their fair share of responsibility. The authorities are obliged to take due account of citizens' initiatives and proposals in carrying out their tasks.

The SED is guided by the idea that the role of the popular representative bodies as the elected organs of government will increase in importance. Their work is characterized by the ever wider and increasingly expert participation of working people, and collectives thereof, in the management and planning of economic, social and cultural development, in the preparation, enforcement and supervision of laws and government decisions. The authority of members of Parliament and other elected assemblies is to be constantly enhanced.

The SED favours measures to bring central and local government to a higher level of efficiency to cope with the growing tasks arising in the construction of an advanced socialist society. This makes it necessary for the various organs of government to adopt a scientific, rational style of work, to maintain close ties with the people and to deal with problems as they arise, and it requires a streamlining of the administrative process. All organs of the state bear a large measure of responsibility for establishing ever closer relations of confidence between citizens and their socialist state. The SED deems it necessary to take an uncompromising stand against examples of bureaucratic and unfeeling behaviour. Strict accountability and control by the public are essential ingredients of socialism. The Worker's and Farmers' Inspectorate has a major role to play in this respect.

In conformity with the principles of democratic centralism evolved by Lenin, central management and planning of social processes will be focused more and more on expertly deciding fundamental questions. The responsibility and initiative of local authorities, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions in carrying out administrative tasks will be encouraged. Cooperation among local authorities, towns, villages and associations thereof, and between these and enterprises, social organizations, and National Front committees will open up substantial reserves to be used for the good of the working people.

The systematic development of the socialist legal system to reflect the degree of maturity of socialist society and the upholding of legal protection and justice are an integral part of the policy pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Socialist law is an expression of working-class power. It serves to further the interests of working people, to protect the socialist system, civil freedoms and human dignity. The

establishment of optimum rules of law, especially in the economic sector and in the relationship between the countries fraternally allied in the socialist community, will assume great importance.

It is a major task of the authorities, social organizations and every single citizen to encourage people to observe the socialist rules of law of their own free will, to protect socialist property, including from damage, loss and fire, and to exercise discipline and a high degree of vigilance. The strict enforcement of socialist legality requires that violations of the law be punished appropriately.

The work of the judiciary and the security organs will be linked still more closely with public activities to enforce socialist legality and to ensure order and security; and the rights of social courts — arbitration and disputes commissions dealing with minor civil cases — will be expanded.

The social organizations of working people play a great role in the implementation of socialist democracy. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will support the trade unions, the Free German Youth, the Women's Democratic Federation, the Gymnastics and Sports Federation of the GDR, the League of Culture and all other working people's organizations in the fulfilment of their specific tasks.

The trade unions are the most comprehensive form of class organization of the working class. They are schools of socialism and socialist economic management. Being representatives of working people's interests, they bear a large share of responsibility for the all-round strengthening of the socialist system and the stable development of the socialist economy.

Socialist democracy in the sphere of material production will continue to grow in importance. The responsibilities of the trade unions increase simultaneously with the role of collectives in socialist enter-

prises. In the socialist emulation campaign, the trade unions mobilize the workers for the attainment of ambitious economic goals. Through their activities, they encourage a socialist attitude to work. Persistent efforts to keep improving working and living conditions figure prominently in the work of the trade unions. The unions play a major part in forming and carrying out the social policy of our Party.

The Free German Youth is the socialist youth organization of the German Democratic Republic. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany supports the Free German Youth as the active helper and reserve force of the Party. It considers it the primary task of the socialist youth organization to mould class-conscious fighters for social advance and to see to it that all young people make use of the opportunities given them to organize their work, study and leisure, indeed their whole life, in a meaningful way and that they become the architects and staunch defenders of socialism and communism.

Long-standing cooperation with the allied parties and mass organizations united in the Democratic Bloc and in the National Front of the German Democratic Republic is one of the principles of the alliance policy pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in building up an advanced socialist society. The National Front, being a socialist movement of the people, contributes significantly to bringing the various classes and sections of the community closer together on the basis of the world outlook and ideals of the working class. It develops close relations between people in urban and rural communities. Its political work at grass roots level is important for the continuous development of socialist democracy, for the systematic improvement of working and living conditions, for the beautification of towns and villages and for a many-faceted intellectual and cultural life.

D. Science, education and culture

The advancement of science

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany regards the advancement of science as one of its foremost tasks. Science's contribution to the systematic improvement of production and to the development of the material, intellectual and cultural life of all working people is always on the increase. It promotes the prosperity, health and intellectual needs of people in socialism.

Therefore, the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is designed to develop science in a planned way and on a long-term basis so as to bring out fully its progressive and humanist character.

Basic research, which affords new insights into the laws and processes at work in nature and society, will have to be given added emphasis to facilitate forward planning of economic and scientific development.

The SED is concerned to ensure that basic research geared to future needs is conducted in such areas as mathematics, mechanics, cybernetics and data processing, physics (including materials research and nuclear research), chemistry, the earth sciences and astronomy and that the results of such research are transposed into practical use without delay. The same holds good of the fundamentals of energetics, design and production engineering. Those active in these fields will have to lay the necessary scientific groundwork for the rational use of raw material, energy and material resources suitable for exploitation, for the satisfaction of growing demands for information and communication and for the creation of optimum environmental conditions.

A matter of great significance is the development of basic and applied research in the life sciences, including the scientific foundations of medicine. Re-

search work in these fields of study will play a major role in ensuring high nutritional standards among the population and towards preserving, promoting and restoring human health and efficiency.

The task of medical research is to open up new vistas for medical practice by elucidating the causes and factors involved both in disease and in health. It will devote its attention primarily to fighting the most prevalent ailments such as cardiovascular, neoplastic and infectious diseases. Medical science will make a contribution to the improvement of working and living conditions by exploring social factors conducive to illness and by promoting the protection of the human environment. Greater encouragement will be given to branches of study instrumental in speeding up progress in medical science, such as biochemistry, biophysics, physiology and human genetics, as well as immunology, virology, neurology and pharmaceutical research.

The extent to which scientific and technological progress makes itself felt in practical terms depends on the standard attained in production engineering, hence the need to pay more attention to the scientific aspects of production engineering. Advances in this field are crucial for saving and easing human labour and making it more productive and stimulating.

The Marxist-Leninist social sciences are the theoretical, political and ideological instrument of the working class and its revolutionary Party in the continued building of an advanced socialist society and in the struggle against imperialism and bourgeois ideology.

Marxism-Leninism is the foundation of all social sciences. What the social sciences analyse, above all, are

— patterns of development and requirements in all fields of social activity during the construction of

- an advanced socialist society and the gradual transition to communism;
- fundamental questions involved in the development of the world revolutionary process in our day and problems connected with the general crisis of capitalism;
- fundamental questions of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook in the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, nationalism, reformist and ultra-left theories.

The study of the laws underlying the development of an advanced socialist society is to help work out variants and formulas for the solution of economic, social, cultural and ideological tasks that have newly arisen or are lying ahead. At the same time, the findings of natural and technological sciences are assuming growing importance in social science research, especially for augmenting the scientifically-based world outlook of the working class. Close interaction between natural, technological and social science is an objective requirement of further social advance. Research, teaching and propaganda in the fields of social science are designed to promote a higher level of socialist consciousness among the working people and to meet the demands of the ideological class struggle. This makes it necessary to treat the components of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific communism as a unity, to combine theory with social practice and to seek ever closer cooperation with social science institutions in the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Management and planning of scientific work will have to be improved and directed towards greater efficiency in research. Intensifying scientific work is a major task. Close interaction of all branches of science and the promotion of socialist team-work are priority

targets. Division of labour and cooperation among scientific institutions must be promoted systematically, both on a domestic and international scale.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany advocates creative cooperation between science and production. Much of the responsibility for carrying out this task lies with the movement for technological innovation and the Chamber of Technology, the GDR's socialist engineers' organization. The SED considers it necessary for research tasks in all institutes, universities, colleges and scientific establishments to be derived from public needs, the conditions for production in the socialist economy and the level of development attained in the branch of science concerned. The Academy of Science of the GDR, other scientific academies and the universities and colleges have a large share of responsibility for the practical application and exploitation of the results achieved in the natural, technical and social sciences.

In accomplishing these tasks and in increasingly pooling the scientific potential of the GDR with that of the USSR and the other member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, scientists and scholars contribute to the further strengthening of the GDR. Their knowledge and experience, coupled with the drive of youth and the innovative spirit of young skilled workers and students, will bring out the best in the young generation—their urge for new ideas and higher quality—in meeting the challenge of science.

Science and education are inextricably bound up with each other. Scientific knowledge provides a broad basis for the upbringing and education of the rising generation and for the further education of all working people.

The development of education and the communist upbringing of youth

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will continue to devote much attention to improving the unified socialist education system, in particular to instilling communist ideals in the young generation.

The function of the education system is to bring up and train young people who have the knowledge and skill required for creative thinking and independent action, whose personal beliefs and attitudes reflect their Marxist-Leninist world outlook and who feel, think and act in a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The education system serves to bring up and train harmoniously developed people who make full use of their abilities and talents in the best interests of socialist society and who distinguish themselves by the pleasure they gain from work and their readiness to defend their country, by their team spirit and pursuit of great communist ideals.

The ten-year comprehensive polytechnical school forms the backbone of the socialist education system. It provides all children with a high level of general education. By imparting knowledge in a scientific and practically oriented way from a working-class perspective, it is to give pupils a grasp of the processes of development going on in nature and society and a penetrating understanding of history, especially of revolutionary traditions, as well as of literature and art. The whole of teaching work is to be improved—especially during class contact—to encourage self-reliance in study and creative thought and activity among pupils and to orientate them still better to the practical needs of society. A command of foreign languages, especially Russian, is of special significance.

The further development of the polytechnical nature of our schools and the comprehensive application of the principle of linking teaching with productive work is of decisive importance for a communist upbringing, especially for the development of a communist attitude to work.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers it the educational mission of the socialist school to enable young people to meet the tough challenges of socialist and communist construction. The demands made on political and moral education continue to grow. Through the active involvement of collectives of the socialist youth and children's organizations, it is to work to develop communist beliefs and attitudes and to help young people to find answers to their questions about our time and their purpose in life.

Collaboration between schools, parents, enterprises, the socialist youth organization and the Ernst Thälmann Pioneer Organization in the upbringing of the young generation requires much attention. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will give every possible support to the valuable educational work performed by parents, teachers, instructors in all educational establishments, Pioneer organizers and activists in the youth organization.

The intensification of production and the development of sciences and technology make heavy demands on education and training. Vocational training is to be improved further. Apprentices are to be equipped with sound and useful knowledge and skills that will enable them to work creatively in their trade through instruction in practice- and job-related theory.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is concerned to ensure that all government agencies and public organizations, enterprises and cooperatives fully meet their responsibilities for vocational training and advice for a new generation of highly skilled young workers.

Greater demands will be made on personnel training and adult education. The main objective will be to increase the number of adult persons with the qualifications of a skilled or supervisory worker and the number of technical school and university graduates. It will also become necessary to offer better opportunities for people to improve their general knowledge and to acquire a thorough knowledge of various fields of interest.

The network of universities, colleges and technical schools is to be enlarged further. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany deems it necessary to develop training, education and research as a unity, and to ensure the highest possible standards of quality and efficiency. The study of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism is to be systematically improved in accordance with its importance for education and training.

The Party considers that sound elementary training in any subject should go hand in hand with a systematic effort to enable students to assimilate scientific knowledge unassisted and to put theoretical findings to practical use. This presupposes a practice-oriented and creative atmosphere and an intense scientific, intellectual and cultural life in all institutes of higher and technical education.

The Party considers it necessary to develop the material basis of the unified socialist education system on planned lines, especially stressing the need

- to improve the equipment of schools and vocational training establishments with modern teaching aids,
- rapidly to enlarge the material basis for teaching and research at institutes of higher and technical education, and
- to meet public demand for accommodation in crèches and kindergartens.

The development of a socialist national culture

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is pledged to a policy of promoting socialist culture in all spheres of social life, material and spiritual. It supports all efforts to enhance the material and spiritual values of socialist culture on the broadest possible scale and to make cultural life as diversified and stimulating as possible. A major concern is the systematic promotion of a truly socialist climate in all places of work and study.

The Party advocates the use of all the opportunities existing for the development of a cultured socialist life in urban and rural communities and holiday areas. It is necessary to provide more amenities for joint cultural experiences, sociability, entertainment and dancing as well as sporting activities.

An advanced socialist society is distinguished by a high standard of spiritual culture. The individual demand for artistic and aesthetic enjoyment is being linked more and more to the creative development of individual artistic talent. The Party will therefore promote people's creative impulses in the cultural sphere and amateur artistic activities in as many ways as possible.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany supports all efforts aimed at the blossoming of socialist realism in art. Such art is deeply rooted in the realities of socialism and in the life of the people, and it is based on a firm commitment to peace, democracy and socialism and the rejection of imperialism, aggression and reaction. Thanks to the force which political commitment and intimate ties with the people lend to artistic expression, socialist realism in all its breadth and depth is able to influence national life and to mould socialist beliefs, attitudes and relations, a sense of beauty and attachment to the ideals of the working class.

The Party works to see the socialist content of the arts further enhanced. It encourages the quest for artistic discoveries contributing to the enrichment of socialist art and social reality. Artistic development calls for an atmosphere characterized by high spiritual, moral and aesthetic demands on artists and understanding towards them as well as by the encouragement of all talent.

The SED advocates the attainment of such a level in literature, the fine arts, music, the theatre, the cinema and television as well as in the work of museums and libraries as to meet the rising demands on an advanced socialist society and do justice to the international position of the German Democratic Republic. The task of literary and art critics will be to promote this process in a sensitive but principled manner.

The socialist national culture of the German Democratic Republic includes the careful nurturing and assimilation of all humanist and progressive cultural achievements of the past. The socialist culture of the German Democratic Republic is indebted to the rich heritage built up throughout the history of the German people. Everything great and noble, humanist and revolutionary is preserved and continued in the German Democratic Republic with an eye to its contemporary relevance. The revolutionary cultural traditions of the German working-class movement and the rich cultural heritage of the German Democratic Republic itself are among the reasons for the patriotic feelings of pride we have for our socialist country.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will work for socialist culture to become rooted still more deeply in the international cultural heritage. The cultural achievements past and present of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries are an especially constant source of inspiration. The humanist

and democratic cultural achievements of the whole world are very important for the all-round education of working people. The treasures of world culture cherished in the German Democratic Republic are a vast potential for the enhancement of the richness and diversity of socialist culture. In comprehensively developing the socialist national culture and fully bringing out its patriotic and internationalist socialist content, the German Democratic Republic will make a valuable contribution to the international culture of socialism.

E. A socialist way of life

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany encourages a way of life and human relations characteristic of social and individual modes of behaviour in an advanced socialist society so that they can develop to their fullest advantage in all spheres of life – during and after work, in the factory or office, in the family and in general habits of life. A socialist way of life is founded on socialist production relations and includes a steady rise in the material and spiritual standard of life. Led by the SED, the working class is the decisive social force which determines the social, political and ideological content of the socialist way of life in conformity with its class interests, establishing it in the whole of socialist society and constantly enhancing it further.

A socialist mode of life is marked by an active involvement in the management of public affairs and in tackling tasks facing society. Human relations in a socialist society, in which all forms of exploitation of man by man have been abolished and social ownership of the means of production prevails, are relations based on genuine equality, freedom and a secure way of life. Thus ever more favourable conditions are created for the all-round development of the individual

within the community. A concern of socialist society is the provision of satisfying jobs, education, culture, health, recreation and freedom from want in old age. At the same time, it presupposes that every member of the community play an active part in socialist construction, voluntarily accepting obligations towards society.

The fuller development of a socialist way of life is in the best interests of all working people as it reflects their aspiration to a meaningful, rich and happy life in the socialist community. It is inseparably linked to the development of socialist personalities whose thoughts and actions are animated by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. This implies a firm commitment to the revolutionary cause of the working class, fidelity to socialism and preparedness to protect and defend its achievements.

A socialist way of life implies a high educational standard, manifold intellectual and cultural interests and requirements and the dissemination of the scientific world outlook of the working class in a stimulating and interesting way.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany works to ensure that human relations in all spheres of life, between young and old, are pervaded still more deeply by mutual respect and support, by friendly aid and attention to the feelings of others. It regards conscientious and honest work for the good of the community as the dominant feature of a socialist way of life and considers that an atmosphere conducive to job satisfaction and high working morale should be developed in all fields of social endeavour.

The SED underlines the great importance of unbiased and constructive criticism and self-criticism within collectives and stresses the need to take a firmer stand against examples of misconduct and shortcomings such as wastage of labour, material and

time, and careless or irresponsible handling of public and personal property. One distinctive feature of a socialist way of life is the readiness to assume full responsibility for tasks assigned. This is absolutely essential for creative participation in work, planning and government, this being the ultimate expression of socialist morality.

The SED furthers the systematic development of a rich and stimulating social life in neighbourhoods. The Party will give effective encouragement and support to growing civic initiative and activity as expressed in multifarious forms of voluntary, unpaid work.

A socialist mode of life includes a healthy way of living in which physical culture and sport are an essential part. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany promotes and supports the development of physical culture and sport as an important social concern. Regular sport enhances the health, leisure, *joie de vivre* and working capacity of the people. Physical culture and sport contribute to the all-round development of the individual in socialist society. The Party supports all efforts to develop further the participation of children and young people in sport, especially the Spartakiad movement, leisure and recreational sport for the working people, and practice, training and competitive sport under the wing of the GDR's Gymnastics and Sports Federation. It encourages the people in unfolding their sporting talent and striving for high levels in sport, which go to serve the cause of socialism and peace.

As a socialist mode of life is developed more and more fully it also leaves its mark on the patterns of married and family life, which is founded on love and mutual respect, understanding and mutual aid in everyday life, and shared responsibilities in the upbringing of children.

The full equality of husband and wife, the increas-

ing economic independence of women and the ever greater opportunities offered them to play a full and equal part in social life have created qualitatively new conditions for the personal ties established by contracting a marriage and starting a family. A happy and meaningful marriage is the best climate for children and vice versa. Parents have a great social responsibility to bring their children up to become healthy persons with zest for life, to become socialist personalities. Together with teachers, the socialist youth organization and the general public they have their part to play in preparing young people for love, marriage and a family.

Inconsistent with the nature of a socialist society are attitudes like egotism and greed, philistinism and a propensity to enrich oneself at the expense of the community. The Party is adamantly opposed to unfeeling behaviour and recklessness in human relations, hypocrisy and cynicism, and disgraceful behaviour towards the opposite sex. It calls for an uncompromising stand against violations of the law, antisocial behaviour, hooliganism and abuse of alcohol.

To develop the socialist mode of life along planned lines does not mean a levelling down of interests and needs. What the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is doing is to accomplish one of the finest aims of the revolutionary working class movement: the all-round development of the abilities and talents of the individual – for his or her own benefit and for that of socialist society at large.

F. The development of the socialist nation

The socialist revolution and the construction of a socialist society in the GDR entailed qualitative changes in the foundations and in the content and

patterns of national life. The working class, in assuming power, created the decisive conditions for the emergence of a socialist nation. Led by the working class and acting in conformity with the historical trend towards socialism, the people of the German Democratic Republic have translated into reality their right to socio-economic, political and national self-determination.

What is taking place in the German Democratic Republic is the development of a socialist German nation. Its characteristic features are determined by the working class, which as the leading force in socialist society is also the vanguard of the socialist nation. The socialist nation is a stable community free from antagonistic contradictions, uniting in a friendly alliance classes and strata led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. It embraces the people of the German Democratic Republic and is characterized by a sovereign socialist state in its territory. Its socialist national economy founded on social ownership of the means of production forms its economic basis. Marxism-Leninism is the prevailing ideology.

A socialist national culture, which assimilates the progressive and humanist heritage of German history and the great treasures of world culture, especially the cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, is developing in the German Democratic Republic. A socialist way of life is becoming more pronounced with changes taking place in beliefs and attitudes, customs and habits. A socialist national consciousness is emerging which organically combines socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The socialist nation in the German Democratic Republic is an inseparable part of the community of socialist nations.

Historically, the socialist nation in the German Democratic Republic is rooted in the German people's

centuries-old struggle for social progress, especially the struggle of the revolutionary German working class for liberation from capitalist exploitation. The overwhelming majority of citizens of the German Democratic Republic are of German nationality. The citizens of Sorb nationality have full equality in shaping an advanced socialist society, every opportunity being offered to them to pursue their specific linguistic and cultural interests.

The SED attaches great importance to the determined struggle against all manners of bourgeois-nationalist concepts as well as nationalist prejudice in people's minds.

In a planned way, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany directs the process of developing the socialist nation in the German Democratic Republic more fully, maximizing its advantages on the basis of the social foundations of socialism and bringing it closer to the other socialist nations.

All social processes involved in the construction of an advanced socialist society contribute to bringing out to the full all the characteristic features of the socialist nation.

III.

The tasks in foreign policy and national defence

The content, objectives and tasks of the foreign policy advocated by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany are

- to establish, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the most favourable international conditions for socialist and communist construction,
- to strengthen the unity, cohesion and all-round cooperation of the socialist countries, and to promote friendship between them and their closer association,
- to support the struggle of the working class and its communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries and to continue to strengthen relations with these parties,
- to extend solidarity and support to movements for social and national liberation throughout the world and to cooperate closely with the newly independent countries,
- to gain acceptance for the policy of peaceful coexistence in relations with capitalist countries,
- to give a firm rebuff to the aggressive forces of imperialism, to save mankind from another world war and to secure lasting peace.

The strengthening of the socialist community

In its entire foreign policy the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is guided by the historically established truth that the vital interests of the German Democratic Republic, as a socialist workers' and farmers' state, coincide with the interests of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. It considers that the German Democratic Republic can only accomplish its historic tasks by cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

The all-round strengthening of the socialist community gathered around the Soviet Union is the foremost foreign policy objective of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. It considers it its most important task to develop the fraternal relations existing between the GDR and the USSR in all fields of life as reflected by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed on 7 October 1975, which forms a stable and lasting basis for these relations. Concurrently, the Party seeks to expand and deepen fraternal cooperation with all other countries belonging to the socialist community.

The relations between socialist countries are marked by proletarian internationalism and by the effective linking of common and national interests. These relations represent a qualitatively new type of relationship between states. They rest on socio-economic, political and ideological affinities and on the objective laws governing the development and convergence of socialist nations.

The socialist community sets an example for a future world community of free and equal peoples. New patterns of political, economic, scientific, technological and ideological relations will gain momentum in cooperation between the socialist countries.

Together with the fraternal parties, the Socialist

Unity Party of Germany will contribute to strengthening and reinforcing the Warsaw Treaty organization as the main area for the coordination of the socialist community's security policy and military policy. The relations of unbreakable friendship and solidarity existing between the fraternal parties in the socialist countries will be cultivated and unceasingly developed as a vital condition for a coordinated foreign policy and for the collective organization of the military protection of the socialist community.

The campaign for peaceful coexistence

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany works unremittingly for the preservation of peace and the consolidation of international security because world peace is a prime condition for the successful construction of socialist and communist society. Its preservation is a matter of life and death for the whole of mankind.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is committed to making peaceful coexistence the generally accepted principle of relations between states with differing social systems. In the interests of a durable peace it advocates disarmament.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will continue to play a constructive part in all efforts to make Europe a continent of security and lasting peace. It supports all forces adopting a realistic approach to the fundamental issues of international politics and advocating cooperation on a basis of equality, and it takes a firm stand against all forces hostile to peace.

The system of treaties concluded between socialist states and imperialist states is of fundamental importance for the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe and the development of mutually

advantageous economic relations between states with differing social systems in the interest of peace. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, acting in conjunction with the fraternal parties in the countries of the socialist community, will work for the expansion of this system of treaties and for the further development of relations with the capitalist countries.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is in favour of developing relations between the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany, as relations between sovereign states with differing social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the rules of international law. Given the basic contradictions between the nature of the social systems in the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, only a policy based on respect for each other's sovereignty can be conducive to the further normalization of relations and peaceful coexistence of the two states, and to businesslike, equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in the interest of peace.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany deems it necessary to normalize further relations between the German Democratic Republic and West Berlin. These relations must be founded on the Quadripartite Agreement and other treaties and arrangements concluded in accordance with international law, which the German Democratic Republic considers must be strictly observed.

The recognition of realities, notably recognition of the inviolability of European post-war frontiers, is and remains a decisive criterion for European security and cooperation ; hence the need to struggle unwaveringly to ensure that the imperialist powers strictly abide by and fulfil the treaties, agreements and arrangements concluded to this effect.

The liberated peoples and those still fighting for

their liberation are a powerful anti-imperialist and revolutionary force in our time. Therefore, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany actively promotes the consolidation of the close alliance linking the German Democratic Republic with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism. It is developing friendly and mutually advantageous relations and promoting close cooperation and solidarity with them.

The German Democratic Republic plays an active and constructive part in international affairs, its status being that of an equal partner. As a member of the United Nations Organization it helps to enhance the role of this world body in the solution of international problems, the consolidation of peace, the development of cooperation between peoples and the defence of human rights.

The protection of socialism and peace

The effective protection of socialism and peace requires a coordinated foreign policy among the socialist states and concerted action by all forces for peace in the struggle against imperialism. Peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems can only be secured by struggling against the aggressive forces of imperialism, which remain dangerous and influential.

The arms race kindled by the ruling imperialist forces poses a constant threat to world peace. It engulfs huge amounts of money that might well be used for the benefit of the peoples.

The maintenance of peace and security requires that defence preparedness, including on the part of the German Democratic Republic, be further strengthened. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will con-

tinue to contribute to the solution of this task in firm alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries, maintaining unwavering comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet army and the armed forces of the other fraternal countries.

The safeguarding of peace, of the socialist homeland and its gains, and the defence of the German Democratic Republic is the right and moral obligation of each and every citizen of the GDR. The Party, the state and all social organizations will pay steady and close attention to promoting the preparedness and capability of all citizens to protect socialism by military means. The military protection of socialism is ensured by military service in the National People's Army, the frontier force or other armed services, by socialist pre-military training, especially of the younger generation, by education into revolutionary vigilance in the spirit of loyalty to the socialist homeland, the German Democratic Republic, by the continuous strengthening of the workers' militia, by the work of the Society for Sport and Technology, by the extension of civil defence and the fulfilment of all other defence tasks.

The National People's Army, the frontier force of the GDR, the organs of the Ministry of the Interior and of the Ministry of State Security, the civil defence forces and the workers' militia are under the obligation to maintain at any time and under all conditions a high degree of fighting strength, defence capability and morale in order to protect socialism and peace and guarantee the territorial integrity, inviolability of the frontiers and state security of the German Democratic Republic. Bringing national defence constantly up to date requires a high standard of Marxist-Leninist education and military training for all those serving in the National People's Army and other armed formations. Proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, friendship with the Soviet Union,

military proficiency and iron discipline, love of the working people and devotion to the ideals of communism — those are the most valuable qualities of the defenders of peace, socialism and communism.

The armed services derive their strength from the leadership provided by the Marxist-Leninist Party, hence the growing role of the Party organizations in all sectors of socialist national defence. The leading role of the Party and the unceasing strengthening of the ties linking the National People's Army and the other armed formations with the working class and all other working people are the guarantee for the accomplishment of all the tasks involved in the protection of peace and socialism.

IV.

The Party is the leading force in the construction of an advanced socialist society and in the transition to communism

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class and of all working people in the socialist German Democratic Republic. It is the leading force in the construction of an advanced socialist society. The further enhancement of its leading role in all spheres of social life is essential for paving the way for the gradual transition to the construction of a communist society. To serve the well-being and happiness of the people, to lead the way with unfaltering step and to set an example to the millions building the new society—this is what the struggles and lives of communists is all about.

The Party's task is to provide political leadership in the social development of the German Democratic Republic on the basis of scientific strategy and tactics. As the tasks involved in the management and planning of social processes in all their forms and aspects become ever wider in scope and increasingly complex, political leadership of society by the Marxist-Leninist Party assumes a proportionately greater importance. It is the overriding factor in the successful shaping of a society bearing the mark of the victorious, revolutionary working class. The working class is only capable of accomplishing its revolutionary and creative historic mission if the Party, as its politically conscious and organized vanguard and chief class organization, lives up to its responsibilities in providing leadership.

Marxism-Leninism in its entirety is the theoretical

foundation for all the Party's activities. Only on the basis of this universally valid scientific doctrine and its creative development is it possible to carry the revolutionary struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people to victory. Marxism-Leninism is the most reliable guide in the building of an advanced socialist society and in the transition to communism.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany provides the conscious and systematic activity of the working people with both direction and purpose; it enhances and strengthens socialist class consciousness, and it arouses and stimulates the creative initiative of the people in shaping a socialist society and way of life. The central idea of the political and ideological work of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is to arm the working class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to explain to them the policies of the Party, to develop their socialist thought, feeling and action, to mobilize them into action and to enable them to resist all influences of imperialist and bourgeois ideology. Each and every member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany must be an active fighter on the ideological front.

Wherever a communist works and lives he will disseminate and champion Marxism-Leninism as a guide to conscious action for the interests of the working class and all other working people, and he will demonstrate the superiority of socialism, its values and achievements.

The further enhancement of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism is among the foremost political and ideological tasks of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Socialist patriotism is heightened by the pride people take in their revolutionary traditions and by their awareness that they have achieved great things and opened up new horizons in the con-

struction of the socialist German Democratic Republic. Socialist civic awareness—and with it pride about what has been accomplished—will have to be linked even more firmly with the internationalist awareness that the further strengthening of our Republic adds to the strength of the socialist community and the entire world revolutionary movement. Conversely, the all-round strengthening of the socialist community is essential for the German Democratic Republic to forge further ahead.

Wherever a communist works and lives he will work in an exemplary manner for his socialist homeland, which is an integral part of the family of nations gathered around the Soviet Union, and he will implant the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in the hearts and minds of the people.

The aim of the Party's political and ideological work is to channel the energy, initiative and creativity of working people towards the attainment of the objectives set out in this Programme, especially to promote and constantly raise socialist working morale. This is of fundamental importance for the accomplishment of the economic and overall social tasks envisaged and for the development of a socialist personality. Political and ideological work will have to lay greater emphasis on the educational impact of collective work so that the characteristic features of socialist personalities may develop to the best advantage.

Wherever a communist works and lives he will be firmly committed to the Party's central policy of improving working and living conditions and he will, in an active and exemplary way, encourage creative initiative, conscientious work and a concern for the preservation of public property as well as all socialist patterns of thought and behaviour.

A major object of political and ideological work is to refute, forcibly and conclusively, imperialist ideology

and policy in all its manifestations. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will defend Marxism-Leninism and the achievements of socialism against any attack. Historical experience shows that only the realization of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, only socialism, can solve the problems facing humankind. Through its ideological work the Party heightens class vigilance towards any hostile machinations.

Wherever a communist works and lives he will loyally stand by the revolutionary working class and the ideals of communism, and he will resolutely expose the inhuman and reactionary nature of imperialism and unceasingly struggle against its ideology.

Special demands will be made on the press, radio and television. They will cope successfully with their growing tasks if they wield the truth as a sharp weapon and spell out what is right, using clear language and compelling arguments. The socialist mass media will see their influence increase further; what they have to say owes its impact to the correctness of our theory and policy which finds its practical confirmation in real life, in the experience of the people.

The Party will thoroughly and systematically arm all its members with the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, its proven and superior intellectual weapon. Central to all forms of its educational work will be profound study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, of Party decisions, and of documents of the world communist movement, especially of the decisions and experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The unity of theory and practice will be consistently ensured in the education and further training of cadres. The first essential will be to develop the capacity of all members to produce arguments that are cogent and backed up with facts, and to defend the class position of the working class in a militant way.

As a voluntary association of communist fighters for a common cause who actively and selflessly work for the implementation of Party decisions, the Party will continue to strengthen political, ideological and organizational unity and cohesion within its ranks. Underlying the structure of the Party, its inner life and the methods of its work is the principle of democratic centralism. Strict application of this well-established principle, which is inseparably linked with consistent adherence to the Leninist standards of Party life, is a cardinal principle for a Marxist-Leninist Party. It guarantees that all communists are united in will and in action.

Collective decision-making and individual responsibility, confidence and mutual help, criticism and self-criticism are characteristic features of Party life, which moulds the character of a communist, demanding and promoting all his abilities and talents and enabling him to exercise his duties and his rights. An atmosphere of communist solidarity is evolving on this basis.

The relations of confidence which the Socialist Unity Party of Germany maintains with the working class, the cooperative farmers, intellectuals and professional people and the rest of the working population are the most important foundation for its successful activity. Teaching the working people while at the same time learning from them, the Party is leading the way, relying on the creative energies of the people.

Collective decision-making is the paramount principle underlying the activity of Party committees. It draws on a wealth of experience and multiplies the strength of the community. At the same time, it is proving to be the safest means against complacency, bureaucratic attitudes, disregard of criticism, and subjectivism.

It is chiefly through the activities of its branches,

through the day-to-day work of every comrade that the Party brings its guiding and organizational influence to bear on all areas of social development. For every member and candidate member the branch is his political home in which he is deeply rooted, which is a source of decisive stimulation for his life, work and struggle, and in which he feels at ease and gains ever new strength thanks to the truly communist atmosphere of commitment and confidence prevailing there. The branches provide a direct link between the Party and all working people. It is their activity above all that adds to the strength and influence of the Party.

The work of Party collectives and of each of their members in administrative departments and economic bodies, in enterprises and institutions is gaining in importance. Their purposeful and persistent political and ideological work on the basis of Party decisions is the clue to further advance in all spheres of social life. Party members play an active role in the trade unions which provide the working class with much of its leverage in the economy and in society.

It largely depends on the persuasiveness, mobilizing force and exemplary work of the communists active in the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, in the Free German Youth, in the Women's Democratic Federation of Germany, in the Gymnastics and Sports Federation of the GDR, in the German-Soviet Friendship Society, in all other social organizations and in the committees of the National Front in which way these bodies fulfil their responsible tasks in building an advanced socialist society.

As the politically conscious and organized vanguard of the working class in the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has developed into a strong, large and militant Marxist-Leninist Party during the successful construction of socialism. It will continue to draw class-conscious

workers into its ranks, because only a Party deeply rooted in its class is capable of enabling the revolutionary working class to fulfil its historic mission as the architect of a new society.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is a wing and integral part of the international communist and working-class movement, a Party pledged to proletarian internationalism. In keeping with the international character of the historic mission of the working class it makes its own contribution to the advance of the world revolutionary process, carrying out its international class duty.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany considers that the attitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continues to be the telling indicator of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to the revolutionary cause of the working class and its historic mission.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany systematically develops and expands its fraternal and intimate relations of friendship with all communist and workers' Parties in the countries of the socialist community. As socialism gathers more and more strength, their closer cooperation in all areas of political, theoretical, ideological and organizational activity assumes still greater importance, because it is socialism that gives the decisive impetus to the irresistible world revolutionary process.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will consolidate and expand its fraternal and friendly relations with the communist and workers' Parties in the capitalist countries. Its constant preoccupation is to complete its tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the campaign for peace and security through internationalist cooperation and to promote the exchange of experience and views between all revolutionary forces.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will develop and expand its fraternal relations with the communist and workers' Parties of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It will work to develop and expand its friendly co-operation with the revolutionary-democratic and anti-imperialist parties and movements of the peoples in these regions. It will continue to extend fraternal solidarity to all peoples fighting for their freedom and for independence and social advance.

In all its activities the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will strictly honour its internationalist obligations. It will make an active and systematic contribution to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It will contribute to uniting the powerful forces of the world socialist system, of the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries and of the national liberation movement in the fight against imperialism, the mortal enemy of the peoples, and in the struggle for social progress on all continents and in all countries.

In the interests of joint action against imperialism and for a durable and stable peace, in the interests of common struggle, especially against the forces bent on sabotaging the policy of peace, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany seeks cooperation with all democratic organizations and movements. It supports joint initiatives with socialist and social-democratic parties to meet the peoples' vital interest in security and peaceful cooperation in Europe and in the world at large, and to meet urgent demands of working people in the present and in the future.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is unwavering in its belief that the just cause of the international working class will emerge victorious on a world-wide scale.

V.

Communism is our aim

In the German Democratic Republic, the working people are building an advanced socialist society under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The accomplishment of this task is a historic step along the road to communism, which coincides with communist construction in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the development of socialism in the other countries of the socialist community.

Marxism-Leninism provides a scientific definition of the second phase of communism, which is being confirmed by the universally valid experience of socialist and communist construction in the USSR and in the other socialist countries.

Communism is a classless society in which all means of production are socially owned, in which there are no social distinctions and in which all members of the community develop their mental and physical capacities to the full and use them for the greater good of the community.

Communism is a society in which the productive forces, the source of all social wealth, are developed on planned lines on the basis of steady advances in science and technology in order to be used with maximum efficiency for the well-being of the people.

Communism is a society which will enable people, on the strength of their scientific world outlook and their spiritual potentialities, to develop the productive forces, the relations of production and intellectual and cultural life in a planned way and to master nature and their own social development to an ever greater extent.

Communism is a society of universally educated human beings who display a high degree of political awareness, who administer public affairs consciously and rationally and who ensure maximum efficiency of production and services.

Communism is a society in which work for the common good is the prime necessity of life, a society in which all working men and women avail themselves of their abilities to secure the greatest benefits for the people.

Communism is a society in which everyone will contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs.

Essential for the realization of the communist principle of distribution is very high productivity of social labour as brought forth by the creative efforts of working people in communist society and by the effective use of the material and technological foundations of communism.

The material and spiritual requirements of man will develop steadily in correlation with material resources; and individual abilities, demands and inclinations will be marked by great diversity and scope. Their development and satisfaction presupposes a rapid increase in production and an acute sense of responsibility towards future generations in the management of the natural environment.

As science, technology and culture advance, man's spiritual requirements grow. Differences in demands, intellectual capacities and activities give rise to a great variety of material and spiritual requirements. Communism encourages the gifts and abilities of all members of society.

Three tasks inseparably linked with each other will have to be achieved in building communism:

First, to lay the material and technological foundations of communism.

Second, to establish communist relations of production and a communist character of labour.

Third, to develop communist social relations and to mould the new man distinctive of communist society.

Communism is a society that gives everyone full opportunity to perform creative work and to lead a cultured and meaningful life. The establishment of an advanced socialist society opens the way to laying the material and technological foundations of communism, transforming socialist social relations into communist social relations and developing communist consciousness. The pace at which the construction of an advanced socialist society and the transition to communist construction are accomplished depends on the work, the political consciousness, the creative initiative and the organized action of millions of working people in town and country.

The progressive, gradual transition to communism, and the emergence of a classless society take place along planned lines and on a scientific basis, full play being given to the initiative and creativity of all people under the leadership and guidance of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The establishment of communism will be the crowning achievement of the historic struggle waged by the international working class against exploitation, op-

pression and war, and for peace, democracy and social advance.

The peoples will build socialism and communism, led by the Marxist-Leninist Parties whose role in the life of society is growing continuously. The countries of the socialist community will draw closer together to reach a qualitatively new level of association on the basis of a high degree of socialist economic integration and multifarious forms of cooperation in all areas of social life.

The process of convergence between socialist nations will make further headway owing to their economic, political and intellectual interests and to their friendship and all-round cooperation.

Communism is the bright future of mankind. In communism, all exploitation and oppression will have been abolished and man will have been rid of the scourge of war. Communism will be a world of peace, work, freedom, equality and brotherhood. In communism, all peoples of the world, all human beings will be able to realize their potentialities to the full.

It is for this noble aim that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is fighting.

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